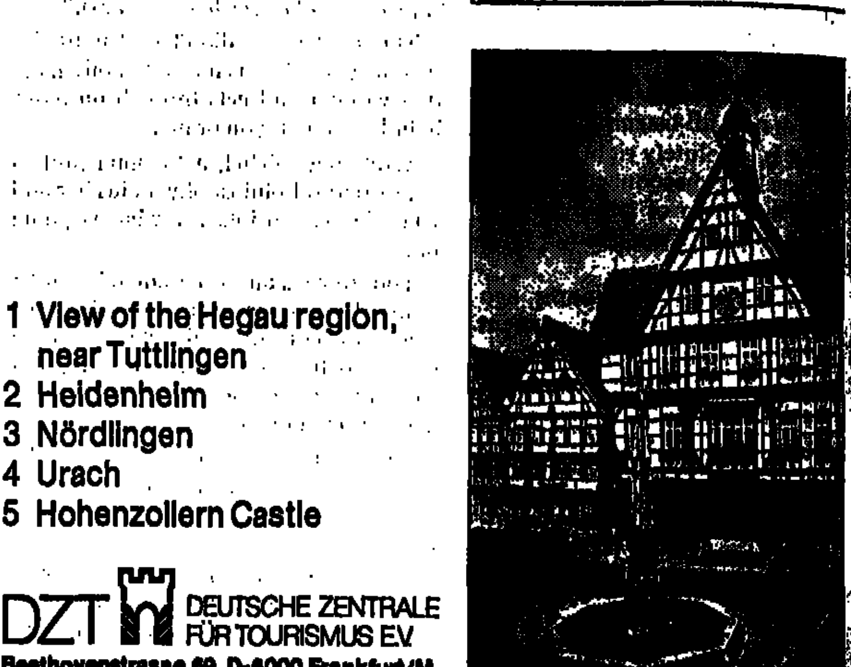
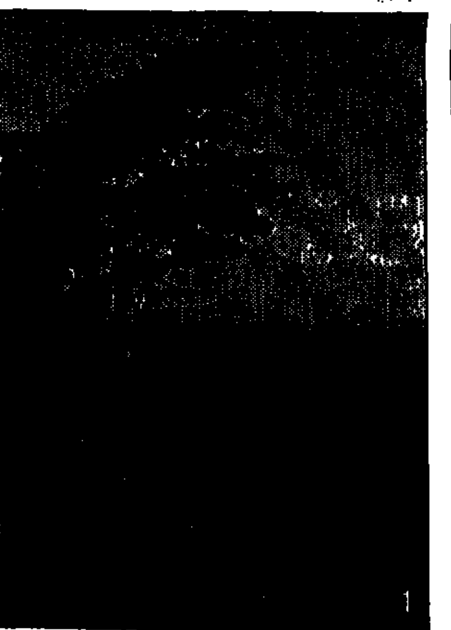




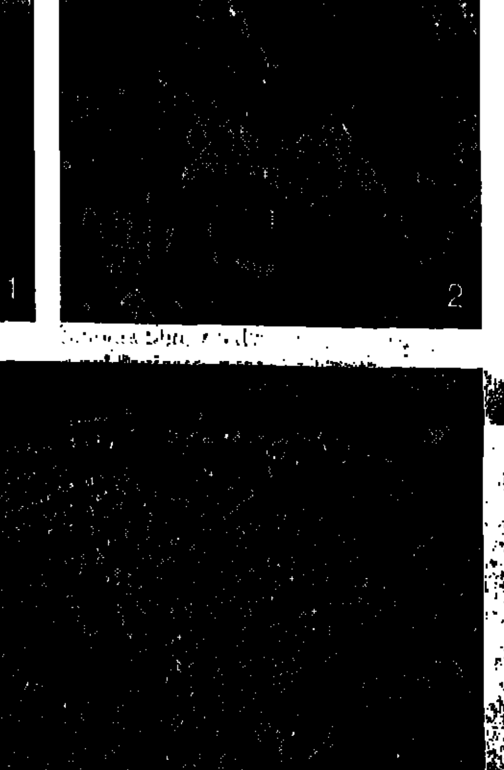




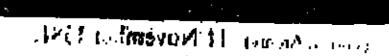
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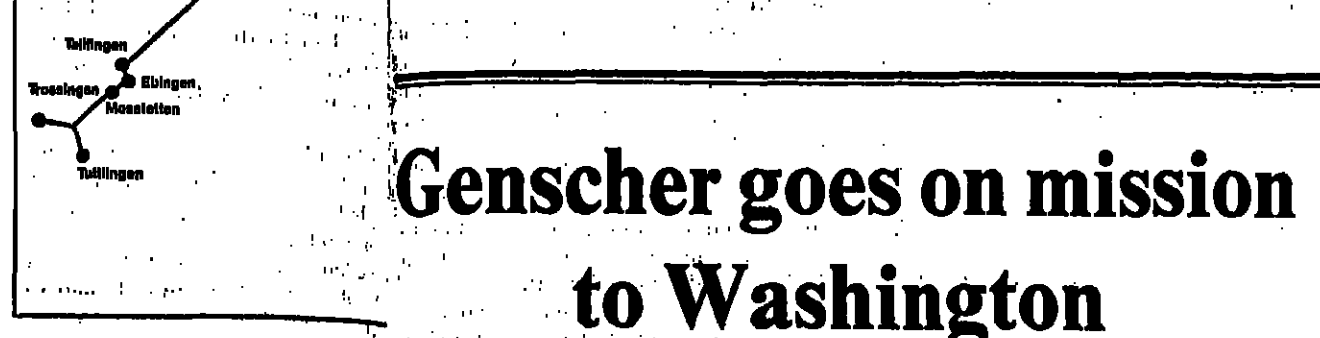


The German Tribune

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Genscher goes on mission to Washington

Herr Genscher's latest visit to Washington is said not to have been a fire-fighting mission, but it bore all the marks of a crisis in confidence between the United States and Bonn.

There can be no denying that ties between the two are more seriously upset than they have at any time in the past 30 years.

And there has been no shortage of messengers who have borne the bad news, ranging from Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office with special responsibility for coordinating German-American ties, to Helmut Haussmann, a Free Democratic member of the Bundestag.

Neither the US media nor the American public have a good word for the Germans. Neither have a growing number of US politicians who are clamouring for US troop withdrawals from Europe.

Senator Mansfield launched an unsuccessful bid to bring the boys back home in the early 70s. Senator Stevens now says: "If the Europeans feel so sure of themselves in their ties with the Russians it is high time we reconsidered our troop commitments."

Anti-European feeling has reached such a pitch that not only Bonn but also the White House is uneasy, and President Reagan feels obliged to go on record that there will be no troop withdrawals from Europe.

The Soviet Union, says Nato C-in-C General Bernard Rogers, is not to be the master of Europe without having fired a shot.

What has caused the crisis and who is to blame? Both sides are to blame, of course, and it is due to both political mistakes and changing circumstances.

These changes include the fact that in Germany and in Europe new generations have grown up that often can no longer even recall from history lessons at school that the Americans were liberators, guarantors of democracy and the mainstay of Marshall aid and the Berlin airlift.

They are generations that in many cases have an exaggerated social impetus and an underdeveloped sense of political reality, especially about the politics of military power pursued by the Soviet Union.

On the other side of the Atlantic the Americans still expect Germany to be as grateful as it was in 1948, which is equally unrealistic.

Besides, Europe itself has undergone changes. It has grown more in need of military protection while gaining in economic strength: both a protégé and a competitor.

A number of fundamental interests run much more to opposites than they used to do: *Ostpolitik*, in detente and even in ties with Poland (although Washington has assessed this particular situation more accurately than Bonn).

In particular, interests clash on interest rates, and against this background Chancellor Schmidt has been right to stand by German interests.

The Opposition Christian Democrats, who at times create the impression of saying yea and amen to everything that comes from the United States, would likewise uphold German interests and have to withstand their fair share of transatlantic tension if they were in power.

There have also been political mistakes on both sides, in Germany because wishful thinking at times plays too large a part in politics.

US errors of judgement are due to Washington often talking and acting in too uncoordinated and too straight up-and-down a manner.

The American media, especially, often deal with European problems in alarmingly oversimplified terms and in terms of too simple equations.

Europe, for instance, is equated with the peace movement. The pipelines-for-

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Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Washington Secretary of State Alexander Haig came to agreement about Poland and the Nato summit in Bonn later in the year when they met in Washington. Herr Genscher afterwards had wide-ranging talks with President Reagan, Howard Baker, Senate majority leader, and State Department officials. Among the subjects discussed were the gas-for-pipelines deal, troop withdrawals, and Central America. (Photo: dpa)

Trip just part of a normal day's work, says Bonn

Bonn was at pains to label Foreign Minister Genscher's trip to Washington a routine visit, with reference being made to advance coordination of Western strategy for the Nato summit to be held in Bonn this June.

This point was emphasised to underscore the allegedly normal character of the consultations, but what is normal happens to include any number of pinpricks in ties between America and Europe at present.

There are more aches and pains in Nato than can be good for either security or the alliance. So Herr Genscher's latest visit to Washington served a special purpose.

He flew to the United States at the express request of Secretary of State Haig and conferred with him and with President Reagan.

Mr Haig met Herr Genscher in Washington in January, again in Madrid in February and now, in March, has important reasons for further talks for the third time in two months.

As one of the few "Europeans" in the Reagan administration, Mr Haig needs Herr Genscher's support. Hard-liners led by Defence Secretary Weinberger currently call the tune.

Thinking out loud — very loud — about a US troop withdrawal from Europe if the pipelines-for-natural gas deal with the Soviet Union comes off is typical of current feelings among the hawks.

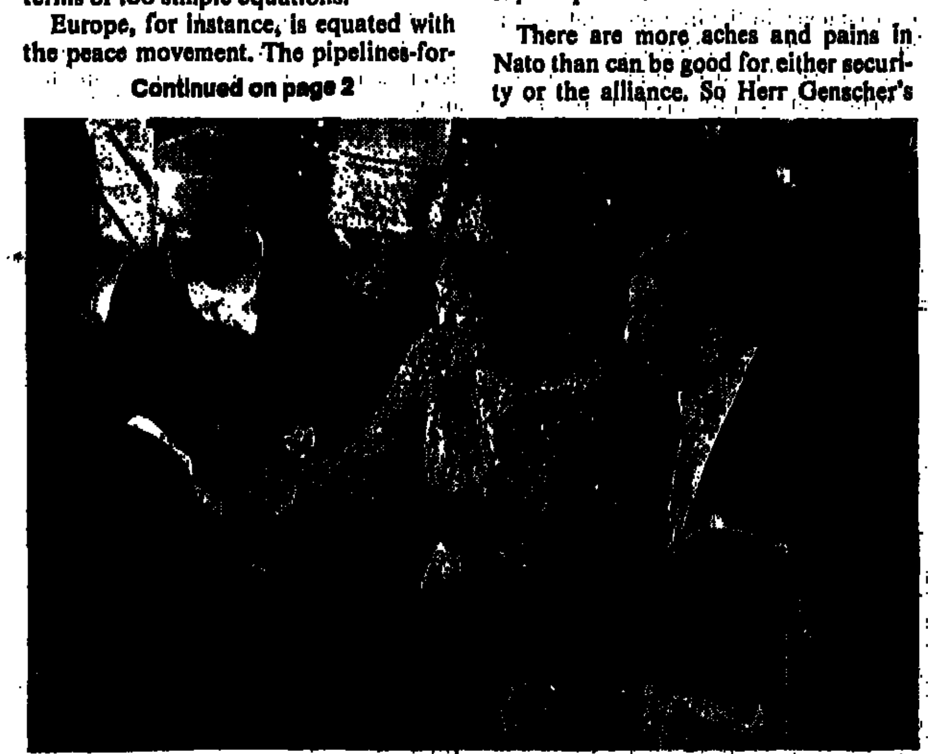
The atmosphere is so tension-laden that there is a serious risk of errors of judgement the repercussions of which would be hard to repair.

Since Mr Haig is sure the Europeans will not be dissuaded from clinching the pipelines deal he is resisting anything that might resemble pressure on them.

For the time being he has arranged for a postponement of the US decision on the deal, and President Reagan has yet to say his final word on the subject.

So we have yet to see who will prevail on the President in foreign and security policy. Will it be hard-liner Caspar Weinberger? Or will it be Al Haig, a

Continued on page 3



Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and Prince Claus greet guests at the Bonn government guesthouse at Schloss Brühl, between Bonn and Cologne. At left is President Karl Carstens (see page 2). (Photo: Poly-Press)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Pipelines-for-gas deal centre of complex guns-and-butter politics

Washington has always been against the pipelines-for-natural gas "deal of the century" between Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

America has been opposed to the idea since long before martial law in Poland or the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

But President Carter's objections were made in vain and President Reagan's looked, until a week or two ago, as if they too would reluctantly be abandoned.

The deal's opponents, especially US Defence Secretary Weinberger, have now descended in force on the White House, so President Reagan might yet try to scotch his European allies' plans.

US criticism has been aimed since 1976/77 at the same points. They are that:

- The pipelines contract increases the dependence of Western Europe in general, and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular, on the Soviet Union to such an extent as to allow the Kremlin to gain leverage for blackmail.
- It will earn the Soviet Union $10bn a year in foreign exchange with which to buy Western technology on the world market, mainly advanced technology for the inordinate Soviet arms build-up.
- It neglects a realistic Western security policy in favour of an illusory longing for cooperation with the East.

Western Europe's counter-arguments have likewise been unchanged for years. They are that:

First, there will not be a percentage increase in dependence on Soviet energy supplies, since gas deliveries will be accompanied by a decline in Soviet oil shipments.

In the 90s, as at present, Soviet energy will not account for more than six per cent of overall primary energy consumption in the Federal Republic.

Yet the much greater dependence on oil producers in the unruly, uncertain Arab world will be partly offset.

Besides, if CIA forecasts are right and Soviet oil output is due to decline it makes sound sense to help the Russians to develop their Siberian resources.

This is the most promising way in which to prevent Soviet bids one day, for lack of domestic output, either to buy Arab oil or to embark on conquest in the Middle East.

Second, scope for blackmail, if there can be talk of any such potential when such a small percentage is involved, will be reduced by substitution arrangements.

They will include natural gas storage facilities, contingency agreements with alternative supplies, such as Norway and Algeria, and links with the European energy grid.

Dependence is, moreover, a two-way process. The Soviet Union would be running greater risks. If it were to switch off the gas to Western Europe it would no longer be supplied with industrial goods, factory equipment and parts from the West.

Unprecedented economic chaos would be the result. And how are the Russians to pay for US grain shipments if not with foreign exchange earned in Western Europe?

Third, the United States accounts for *nine per cent of the OECD countries'* trade with the East. Italy has 10, France 12 and the Federal Republic of Germany 25 per cent, including intra-German trade.

Grain shipments make up 80 per cent of US trade with the East, industrial goods 80 per cent of Western Europe's trade. So there is naturally a conflict of interest between them.

It is heightened by differences in philosophical outlook.

For the Americans, trade with the East is first and foremost a political instrument by means of which the Soviet Union can be rewarded for good behaviour or chastised for being awkward.

For the Europeans, trade with the East is a means by which the Soviet Union may, in the long term and regardless of difficulties, be incorporated in the system of international economic interdependence.

Western Europe does not regard security and cooperation as opposites; it sees them as elements that complement each other.

Even in the wake of Afghanistan and Poland it is not in favour of a trade war that would merely isolate the Soviet Union and give it a free hand for the worst kind of siege communism.

It wants to maintain the openings made over the past dozen years, including the progress towards a Soviet departure from self-sufficiency.

Will President Reagan pay any heed to these arguments? Or will he intervene in the division of labour between the democratic industrialised countries by refusing Western Europe US licences for trade with the East?

Will he lead the Atlantic alliance by thumping his fist on the table or will he aim after all at a settlement of conflicting interests as advised by Secretary of State Haig? It will depend on Mr Reagan's response whether the crisis of the communist world shakes the foundations of the alliance of democracy too.

Theo Sommer
(Die Zeit, 5 March 1982)

Papandreou wants Brandt to mediate over Cyprus

The Greek Premier, Andreas Papandreou, wants Willy Brandt to be appointed mediator in the Cyprus conflict.

He made the suggestion during a three-day visit to the island.

Herr Brandt, who has himself just returned after a week-long visit to Cyprus, has brushed aside the idea.

But Papandreou said: "I feel Willy Brandt would do justice to the task."

Mr Papandreou reiterated his demand for an international conference to settle the Cyprus conflict. It should also be dealt with by the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

Asked to comment on an earlier mention about light at the end of the tunnel, he said: "I can say that there are significant changes in the international sector that give subdued optimism."

The Greek Premier did not feel a settlement of the Cyprus problem need necessarily be linked with a settlement of differerences between Greece and Turkey as a whole.

He gave an assurance that Athens would not yield on Turkish plans to annex Greek territory and was critical of partners, allies and friends of Greece that kept up military aid to Turkey in a way that might, in a few years' time, undermine the balance of power in the area.

Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader, has rejected any idea of concessions to the Greeks. "In Cyprus we have nothing to offer the Greeks", he said in a commentary on Mr Papandreou's visit to the Greek Cypriot government in Nicosia.

He accused the Greek Premier of misusing the Greek Cypriots in the dispute between Greece and Turkey over the Aegean.

Mr Denktash stressed that Turkish Cypriots had no intention of taking anything away from the Greeks. All they wanted was their freedom and protection for land that had been theirs for centuries.

They wanted to avoid the fate of the Turkish community on Rhodes, which had declined from 25,000 to 1,500, or of Turks who, as he put it, were suffering from Greek administration in Western Thrace.

ddp
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 March 1982)

Continued from page 1

natural gas deal, say, is equated with Bonn selling out to Moscow.

Other accusations are justified. Anti-Americanism *is* more widespread in the Federal Republic than at any time since 1945.

The naivete of some sections of the young in Germany, including wings of the Social and Free Democrats, on Soviet aims and twofold strategies *is* alarming.

So is the one-sided way in which the Soviet arms build-up is made light of, while the West's missile modernisation is pilloried.

Even so, life without America is absolutely out of the question both for Europe in general and for the Federal Republic of Germany in particular.

Conversely, the United States needs Europe too, which is why there need be no fears of US troop withdrawals for the time being.

That is why Nato will not fall apart so soon and why both sides will have to come to terms with conflicts of interest even if they grow yet more acute in the wake of missile modernisation.

But it is high time there were more attempts to relieve tension, and that at least is a lesson which seems to have been learnt on both sides of the Atlantic.

Jürgen Offenbach
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 March 1982)

Beatrix and royal style

For three days Queen Beatrix of H[...] land, paying the Federal Rep[...] of Germany her first state visit, hit [...] headlines.

She was not greeted by jubil[...] crowds as Queen Elizabeth was in 19[...] She is a level-headed, objective wom[...] and not the kind to thrill the masses i[...] mediately.

Yet thousands still thronged to t[...] railings to see, at least in passing, an[...] live queen for once, and the mo[...] chists among us will not be alon[...] feeling she did her job well.

Beatrix did not restrict herself to [...] presentation; she showed herself to b[...] representative of her country w[...] thinks very clearly in political terms.

Her very first state visits took her [...] Belgium and Luxembourg, which a[...] part of the Benelux family. Then ca[...] neighbouring Germany.

In choosing to pay the Federal Rep[...] blic her first major state visit she do[...] mented the close ties between Holla[...] and Germany, ties of mutual econo[...] dependence.

Carefully she referred to the pas[...] the legacy of the German occupati[...] during the Second World War, wh[...] the Dutch had much to suffer.

This is still an emotional issue, as [...] shown a few years ago when the Chri[...] tian Democrat leader Helmut Kohl w[...] bitterly attacked by left-wingers [...] Dutch TV.

The Germans, in rushing to He[...] Kohl's defence, did not mince words [...] ther in saying what they felt about t[...] Dutch.

The Queen's visit to Berlin was by [...] *means a matter of course. If anything* [...] was a gesture of understanding for G[...] many's special position as a divi[...] country.

When everything she had to say i[...] ken into consideration, the Que[...] the Netherlands can be seen to [...] followed a carefully thought-out po[...] cal concept.

It was a concept in keeping with [...] policy pursued by The Hague for de[...] des. As a small European country Ho[...] land is bound to be keener than the b[...] ger countries on cooperation rat[...] than competition.

Queen Beatrix made the point clea[...] with the means at her disposal. S[...] showed that even in Europe today th[...] is still a part to be played by crow[...] heads.

It is that of representing their cou[...] as a whole abroad, and this is role B[...] trix performed convincingly.

Arnd Bluck[...]
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 March [...])

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■ RESEARCH

Current trend in electric car field

Erich Pöhlmann had just set up in business on his own when, in January 1981, he met Bernd Stoy, head of applications technology at Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), in Essen.

Pöhlmann planned, as a self-employed engineer, to concentrate on waste heat recovery. In conversation with Stoy, an electrical engineer, he soon got down to his hobby, the electric-powered car.

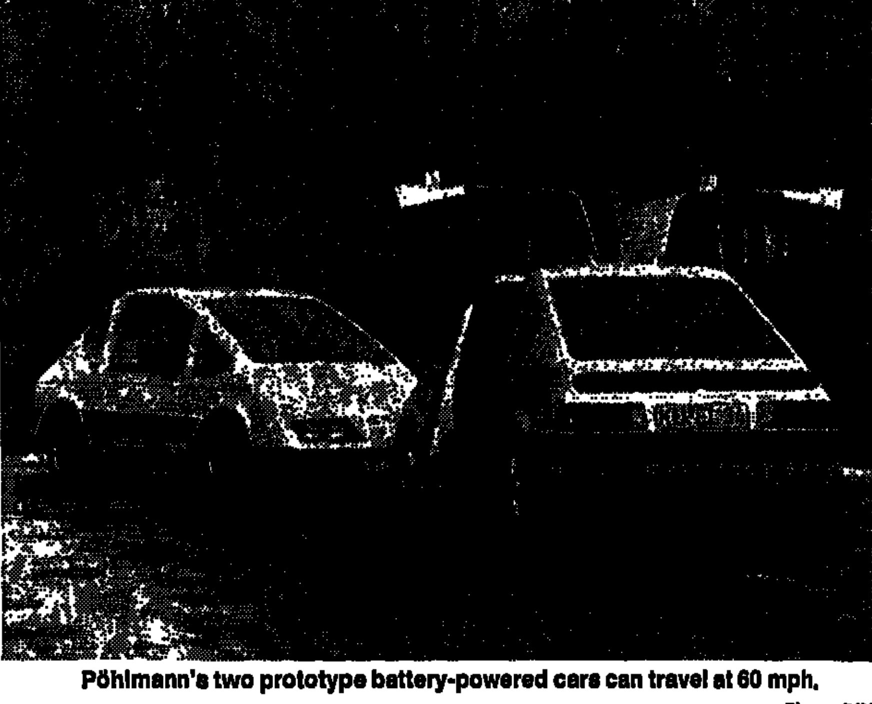
Their meeting bore fruit. In conjunction with and on behalf of RWE, the largest power utility in the Federal Republic of Germany, Pöhlmann designed a new electric car.

He abandoned his other plans and concentrated exclusively on what had been his hobby. The result, the first two-seater prototype of the new car, was unveiled to shareholders at the RWE annual general meeting in Essen.

Stoy and Pöhlmann could not have built the new model on their own. They needed the backing of another engineer, Günther Klätte, a member of RWE's board of directors.

They outlined their plans to him in January 1981 and he persuaded the board to back them.

"The combinntion I found at RWE could hardly have been more favourable," Pöhlmann recalls, "a progressive thinker like Dr Stoy and a board member willing to take a risk like Dr Klätte."



Pöhlmann's two prototype battery-powered cars can travel at 60 mph.
(Photo: RWE)

The outcome is an electric car based, according to Dr Klätte, on an entirely new design concept. Past experiments have almost invariably been with converted conventional assembly-line models.

A previous RWE bid was based on similar plans, while Pöhlmann himself has converted two cars over the past 10 years. But the prototype is an entirely new design planned specifically for electric power.

The prototype, of which two models so far exist, is said to be capable of 100 kph, or over 60mph, and of covering at least 60km, or 37 miles, on one battery.

At today's prices the power to travel this distance costs DM2.40, but running costs would also have to take wear and tear on the battery into account.

Dr Klätte says the car is still in its early days. Not until the mid-80s can output be expected to reach a few thousand a year, if that.

Besides, the new car was specifically designed as a town car and thus only as a second car. It is designed to sell at an up-market price of about DM20,000.

Only in city traffic does the motor industry expect an electric car to stand any chance of establishing itself. Werner Breitschwerdt, head of research at Daimler-Benz, finds it hard to believe the electric town car stands any chance at all.

Its range is too low, and assuming *that both electric power and a synthetic* coal-based fuel will need to be specially generated, the electric car will have no edge over the competition.

This, he says, is because too much energy will be lost between the power point and the battery pole.

Ernst Fiala, head of research at Volkswagen, is less pessimistic. Providing more powerful batteries are available he feels electric power should gain in importance, at least in city traffic.

Batteries are certainly the problem. If the car is to travel any distance before running out of juice it must carry a payload of several hundredweight of batteries.

"The trouble with electric power for cars," Daimler-Benz say, "is that motorists are spoilt. Today's cars can be used for any purpose and any distance."

Pöhlmann is well aware of the problem too. To avoid having his car out of action somewhere or other with flat batteries, his prototype is equipped with a conventionally-fuelled generator.

In winter this generator will heat the car. In an emergency it will also supply enough power to enable the car to reach the next power point for a recharge.

But Pöhlmann has yet to come up with better batteries than those that are already commercially available. "Everything that was been written about new batteries is still wishful thinking," he says.

Reports of new battery developments are frequently heard from the United States, but nothing ever seems to come of them.

Great things were expected of an electric car from Gulf and Western, but the excitement seems to have petered out completely.

Maybe more can be expected of a more powerful battery that is being developed by Brown, Boveri & Cie of *Mannheim, but even it has been in the* pipeline for eight years and will cost several hundred million marks more before it can be mass-produced.

Pöhlmann says it is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Battery manufacturers say better batteries cannot be manufactured at an acceptable price until electric cars are competitive, while the motor industry says it cannot seriously consider the electric car until the power problems have been solved.

Pöhlmann hopes his prototype will help to break this vicious circle. Whether it will is hard to say. He, Dr Klätte and Dr Stoy are being very cagey about technical details.

They say patents still have to be applied for in some cases, while in others a final solution has yet to be reached: "We are still working on that one."

On the credit side it must be admitted that they have unveiled a model only a year after starting development work. The motor industry is much slower to get off the mark.

Before motor manufacturers market a new model they spend several years on research, development and planning.

"We had to go public when we did," Dr Stoy says, "otherwise we would not have been able to carry out trials in normal motoring conditions."

"I wouldn't have been supplied with any more parts either," Pöhlmann says. He has logged a good few miles in his prototype, mostly at night on deserted country roads near Kulmbach in Bavaria, where he lives.

Yet the prototype has already been to blame for an accident. A truck driver was so disconcerted by the appearance of the test vehicle that he forgot to look where he was going and drove into the roadside ditch.

"But he wasn't injured," Pöhlmann says. Pöhlmann himself wasn't either when another car sent him skidding off an ice-clad autobahn and he and the car turned turtle.

He was suspended like a bat in his safety belt, but once a breakdown crew had righted the car, which weighs over a ton, he was even able to drive home under his own steam, as it were, but without a windscreen.

The plastic bodywork was repaired and the car looked as good as new. Plastic was chosen to cut down on weight, but in plastic only a small run is ever likely to be built.

"Long runs can as yet only be manufactured in sheet metal," Dr Stoy says. He is keen not to prompt exaggerated expectations.

Dr Klätte is too. RWE, he says, is a power utility and has no intention of branching out into motor manufacture.

But the new car is definitely more than a whim on the part of three imaginative engineers. Unlike many another project it is *not* subsidised by the Bonn Research Ministry.

If it were, Dr Klätte frankly admits, RWE would have to publish the details. So the company would seem to expect more to come of the project than publicity for the electric car idea.

If it does, it will not have been the first time RWE has lent an inventor a helping hand to telling effect. It helped computer manufacturer Nixdorf to get off the ground too.

Heinz Nixdorf, whose company now has a payroll of nearly 15,000, began in a cellar workshop in Essen with DM30,000 from RWE.

Richard Gaul
(Die Zeit, 26 February 1982)

THE ARTS

Stage version of pre-war plot to kill Hitler

Peter Paul Zahl's play *Johann Georg Elser*, premiered in Bochum, is not an occasion for resurrecting the debate on whether the 15-year sentence the playwright is serving for a shoot-out in which he seriously injured a police officer is warranted.

Elser is a political play on a major issue that Zahl has chosen to deal with from his prison cell while other dramatists at large have failed to see it.

Maybe it needed the heightened sensitivity of a man in Zahl's position to appreciate his hero's dramatic potential. Zahl, 37, sees himself as a victim of political justice and fails to realise he was sentenced for a criminal offence.

Be that as it may, there is no mistaking the sense of identity the playwright feels with his hero even though no attempt is made to justify present-day terrorism with reference to Elser's bid to assassinate Hitler in November 1939.

Who was Elser? Well may you ask. No mention is made of him in the 25-volume Meyer's encyclopaedia. He was a Swabian cabinet-maker who seems to have been the only German to realise that the only way to avert a Second World War was to try and assassinate the Führer.

A loner, he planned his bid in a Munich beer hall where Hitler was due to hold his annual address in memory of the 1923 putsch and had worked *everything* out down to the finest detail.

But his bomb exploded too late. Unexpectedly, the Führer left the Bürgerbräukeller earlier than usual. A few old Nazis and an innocent waitress were killed in the blast.

Elser was soon caught and sent to concentration camp. He was killed shortly before the end of the war and has since been virtually forgotten.

In the late 70s a memorial to Elser was erected in Heidenheim. Zahl was not the first to mention him; that distinction goes to writer Rolf Hochhuth, who referred to him in his speech on being awarded the 1976 Basle art prize.

Hochhuth was awarded the prize for his book *Tell 38*, dealing with Maurice Bavard, a young Swiss who tried to shoot Hitler in Munich in 1938.

Bavard did not even succeed in taking aim. He was arrested, put in the dock and eventually executed.

Zahl handles his plot very schematically, which proves a serious drawback. In succession he shows us Elser, who gradually sheds all personal ties; the Führer, who outlines his ideology and lies to generals and an unseen public; and representatives of an early military resistance who are duped by Hitler's successes.

Thus the plot takes it course on several levels, and Zahl, in his instructions for staging the play, would like to see them kept more distinctly separate than Alfred Kirchner does in Bochum.

Director Kirchner operates with interlocking devices and swift transmissions on Peter Bausch's set, with its combination of German *kitsch* and power symbols.

The play owes it to Kirchner's direction that events comment each other and that the contrast between Elser's lone activity and the fruitless activity of the military men, sitting in a small room, is seen for what it is.

Martin Schwab as Elser develops with quiet determination to the point at which he decides to act.

Initially, in his zither club or alongside workmates, he is one in a crowd. Later he seeks concealment in earnest and solitude.

Repressed emotion does not surface again until the plain-clothes police officer threatens to show him a film about the bomb victims.

Zahl fails to pinpoint the moment at which he arrives at his decision, and Schwab surmounts this shortcoming by gradually assuming responsibility for it all by weight of sheer introspection.

At least for some of the time he thus succeeds in establishing a counterweight to the proliferating Führer scenes that fall little short of making Hitler, not Elser, the subject of the play.

The inordinate time Zahl spends on the Führer's brutal monologues indicates the horror and fascination in which he holds Hitler as a man of violence.

This is doubtless the main problem of the play, a problem extending beyond the aesthetic, such as that Zahl tries to arrive at a formalised colloquial German somewhere between Brecht and Kroetz in his dialogue while retaining more forthright language, based on feelings of anarchic aggression, in his poems.

The playwright subtitles Elser 'A German Drama.' It is a historic drama, a refresher course, dramatised evening classes.

At the same time it is intended to refer to the present, most saliently in three passages in which mention is made of missile modernisation.

The Bochum Schauspielhaus production stars first-rate actors, including Gert Voss as the chief of the German general staff and Anneliese Römer, Branko Samarovski and Eleonore Zetzsche each playing several parts.

They seem to stress links with the present, or it it mere coincidence that Ulrich Pleitgen as a slim, blond Führer and clearly a very clever man is both initially autocratic in his bearing and, at times, reminiscent of Helmut Schmidt in his gestures?

His resemblance with the Bonn Chancellor is particularly striking when he appears on the monitor screens on which Zahl insists to heighten the propaganda effect.

Over and above armaments disputes there can be no doubt, however, that the Third Reich and the Federal Republic are not just 37 years apart; they are worlds apart.

After the first night the playwright took his bow and, alongside the cast, was given a big hand. This may be only a minor distinction but it is one that cannot be overlooked.

Rainer Hartmann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 March 1982)



Johann Georg Elser ... tried to prevent the war. (Photo: Ullstein)

Sober detachment hallmark of the late Christian Schad

Sober detachment and dispassionate presentation of individual traits are the hallmarks of paintings by Christian Schad, who has died in Stuttgart aged 87.

He was first associated with the Dada movement but from 1921 to 1933 was a leading light of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or new realism, of the Weimar era.

He has only recently been rediscovered in the spate of 20s retrospectives and reaffirmed as an outstanding representative of post-Expressionist art.

This is not to say that he was ever really forgotten, but it doubtless took a contemporary renaissance of realism to call to mind the earlier achievements of a pre-war artist.

Take, for instance, his 1927 self-portrait sitting on the edge of a rumpled bed with a nude model.

Wearing a lightweight gauze shirt that seems to reveal more than it clothes, the artist seems sternly and determinedly to gaze right through the viewer. His model has bobbed hair, sharp features and brightly made-up-lips. She too seems distinctly undressed and is clearly portrayed as a mere object. Unlike his contemporaries Otto Dix and George Grosz, Schad did not resort to garish colour and a note of accusation in portraying couples after intercourse. He seems to depict them in a vacuum and to show how alien they are to each other, and he can be absolutely ruthless, as in Agosta the Winged Man and Rasha the Black Dove. They are circus artists, and we are shown the bizarre chest of the cripple, with a scornful look on his face, and the exotic appearance of the coloured girl. Both are dispassionately portrayed and stripped of their circus aura.

'Die Berlinerin Lotte', one of the works of the late Christian Schad. Cool pictures of beautiful women were one of his features. After the war, his paintings grew softer in outline, more visionary in concept and came closer to surrealism. But his early works again came to prominence in 1978 in connection with the Paris-Berlin Exhibition. (Photo: Archiv)

In the Weimar era Schad, like many of his contemporaries, was keenly interested in the outsider, the social outcast. But he neither caricatured them nor one-sidedly depicted them as victims.

He depicted them on the razor's edge, as it were, as in a 1927 portrait of the Count St Genois d'Anneaucourt, who is seen to be unable to decide between his society appearance and his latent leanings.

Alongside cool portraits of beautiful women Schad also painted pictures of Egon Erwin Kisch, the journalist, whose tattoos fascinated him, and Josef Matthias Hauer, the twelve-tone composer.

He studied briefly at the Munich Art Academy, began with woodcuts in 1913 and made a name for himself in the Dada movement with photographic arrangements that he called Schadographs.

After the Nazi take-over there was no longer much of a domestic market for his new realism. It was, in any case, irreconcilable with the heroism and nationalism for which the Nazis clamoured.

In 1935 he went into business, painting merely as a sideline. In 1943, after his Berlin studios were bombed, he



moved to Keilberg, near Aschaffenburg, where he lived and worked in a bungalow until his death.

In the post-war period his work grew softer in outline, more visionary in concept and closer to surrealism. As a post-World War II magic realist he was far distant from his 20s-style new realism.

He reverted to prints and even went back to Schadographs. One of his last works, entitled Money, shows an innocent child being taxed for its market value by a rich procuress.

His early work came back into prominence in connection with the 1978 Paris-Berlin exhibition. He came back into his own as one of the major German painters of the century.

In 1980 he had a major exhibition at the Kunsthalle in West Berlin, which made him an honorary professor.

Peter Engel
(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 27 February 1982)

■ EDUCATION

11,000 go to a European School somewhere



A total of 11,000 children throughout the EEC are educated at what are known as European Schools.

Several languages are used to teach curricula that have been modified from the basic requirements of all EEC nations.

There are now nine of these schools: the first opened its doors in Luxembourg in 1957. Since then they have been opened in Belgium (three), Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Germany (two).

One was opened in Karlsruhe in 1962 and another in Munich because of demand created when the European Patent Office was set up in 1977.

Uniform curricula were drawn up after an examination of minimum educational requirements in all EEC countries and final approval given by the Supreme Council of EEC Education Ministers, which is responsible for the schools.

In the case of Munich, the European Patent Office foots the bill including the pay of teachers and administration staff.

Children of Patent Office staff fill 68 per cent of the places.

Competition for the remaining 32 per cent is so intense that lots have to be drawn.

"The European School idea is, I feel, a starting-point for extremely down-to-earth and promising European cooperation in the cultural sector," says Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office and one of the people whose idea the Munich school was.

She is enthusiastic about the opportunities of experimenting with cooperation it provides and would like to set up more schools soon.

They had to comply with the minimum requirements of comparable schools in all 10 Common Market countries, in each of which educational systems have evolved over the centuries.

After detailed comparison of national curricula negotiations were held between representatives of the Ten and agreement was reached.

Textbooks were another problem. Books in use in the Common Market countries do not always comply with the curriculum, the methods or the spirit of teaching at European Schools.

Special textbooks were badly needed for history in particular, given that as taught at European Schools the subject had to be free from any suspicion of either chauvinism or prejudice.

So the Supreme Council encouraged staff (they are seconded at their own request by the education authorities in their respective countries) to compile textbooks specially suited to meet requirements.

In Brussels there is a special association set up to coordinate and publish textbooks for the European Schools.

Religious and moral instruction form a regular feature of the curriculum. Students have compulsory lessons in philosophy at a certain stage in their school career.

European baccalaureate exams are sat from mid-June to mid-July. On a single day identical exam papers are taken in eight countries and seven languages.

The European baccalaureate is a prestigious qualification. It is acknowledged as a university entrance qualification in all the EEC countries, in Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and at a number of US universities.

On leaving European School, students usually study at universities in other countries. They are unlikely to have much difficulty in adapting. Their unofficial qualifications include excellent training in foreign languages and years of practice gained in being taught in one.

Lessons in basic subjects are taught in their native language, but from their first year at junior school they are taught an additional language, the choice being between English, French and German.

From their second year at senior school they learn a second foreign language.

Lessons in European affairs are attended by students from all language groups in their year, and since one of the aims is to promote manual, musical and artistic skills a subject that is dealt with is, for instance, the carnival season.

Students make and model the typical costumes worn at Fasching, Mardi Gras and carnival celebrations in their respective countries.

But this is more for junior school. At senior school civics is a more abstract and axiomatic subject. Keynotes of European history such as the Reformation, absolutism and revolutionary movements in the 18th and 19th centuries are dealt with.

They are viewed not as they affected individual countries but in a wider context embracing Europe as a whole.

One topic is European integration over the past 30 or 40 years, leading to the June 1979 direct elections to the European Assembly, which represents 270 million voters.


A playground for Europe . . . the European School in Munich. (Photo: Sven...)

So a French teacher may discuss, in French but with British, Dutch, German and Danish students, the Second World War, Hitler, Yalta and territorial revisions.

A more objective outlook is gained, with attention being paid to major texts relevant to European intellectual history. Read in the original language, they foster a European consciousness.

Four children out of 323 at the Munich school were four years old when they first went to the school's kindergarten section.

Coming from Ireland, Sweden, Italy and Greece, they spoke different languages but happily played alongside each other with building blocks.

Together they gave the wooden animals names in their respective languages and sang each other's songs and nursery rhymes, such as Au claire de la lune or Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall.

When they were seven their elementary school classrooms were next door to each other and they continued to join forces for lessons in certain subjects.

Now they attend senior school they are still in adjacent classrooms in another part of the building and still learning European geography and other subjects together.

Ten nationalities are represented among the 323 students who daily travel to the school, in the suburb of Neuperlach.

They travel in private cars bearing the number plates of countries all over Europe or by Munich's new U-Bahn, the Underground.

The Munich school moved into its Neuperlach premises last November. They cost DM44m. Bonn and Bavaria each paid 45 per cent and Munich 10 per cent.

Star-shaped pavilions occupy a wide-ranging landscape. They are two- and three-storey structures with garden roofs, courtyards, light and bright.

There is a school refectory, since lessons are given all day on several days a week, whereas German schools usually start early and finish at lunch time.

The open, attractive foyer of the main building is also the assembly hall. The interior is decorated in the same materials as the outside: wood, tiles and glass.

The impression is rustic and full of life. There are the same lightweight tubular steel tables and chairs in all rooms: classrooms, the staff common room and the headmaster's study.

Munich is a city of schools. The European School in Neuperlach is a newcomer of which it can be justly proud.

Anneliese Steinhoff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 28 February 1982)

Ban on teachers' anti-nuclear badges in class

German schoolteachers during classes may not wear a badge with the slogan "Nuclear Power? No Thanks!" the Federal Labour Court in Kassel has ruled.

Headmasters are allowed to stop teachers wearing the badges on the grounds that they are in breach of their educational duties by taking a one-sided viewpoint on controversial political issues.

The case was taken to the supreme court in Kassel by 10 Hamburg teachers who are against nuclear power and appeared at the court hearings sporting their yellow badges with a red sun emblem.

They had won their cases against the ban in Hamburg but lost on final appeal.

The Kassel court is the final court of appeal on labour disputes relating to wage- and salary-earners, and the 10 teachers are salaried.

A ruling has yet to be reached by the Federal Administrative Court on anti-nuclear badges worn by teachers with civil servant status.

Administrative courts have, however, ruled against anti-nuclear stickers in Bundeswehr barracks.

The chairman of the Kassel bench ruled that public service staffs are duty bound to exercise moderation and restraint in their public expressions of opinion on political issues.

Educational regulations made up the small print where teachers were concerned. School was intended to help pupils to learn to think, judge and act for themselves and to arrange their lives in personal responsibility and in keeping with obligations toward state and society.

This included the ability to recognise conflicts and to handle them objectively. Teachers must help them to do so both in what they teach and in how they behave.

A teacher was in breach of this obligation if he adopted a one-sided view on a controversial political issue, such as the peaceful use of atomic energy, by wearing a badge and not stating his opinion on the subject.

He was running the risk of pupils unthingkingly following his viewpoint because of the authority he held in their eyes as a teacher.

In wearing the badge all day at school the teacher was continually advertising to students and staff his political viewpoint.

This made the badge means of propaganda. Wearing it must be regarded as political activity.

The school authorities were entitled to prohibit the wearing of such badges as a breach of discipline. This did not run counter to the fundamental right of free expression; it merely detailed the restraint that the constitution likewise required to be observed in exercising this basic right.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 March 1982)

MEDICINE

The Pill's link with cancer 'has been over-estimated'

More than 50 million women all over the world regularly use oral contraception, a medical congress in West Berlin has been told.

About 3,800,000 women aged between 15 and 45 in the Federal Republic of Germany, or one in three in this age group, take the Pill.

It is a safe means of contraception and family planning if simple rules are observed.

It was one of the best-researched medicines on the market, the congress was told, and although to take the Pill was to run a risk, the side-effects were much less frequent than epidemiological surveys had led the medical profession to believe.

This claim is supported by the findings of a long-term study of about 16,000 women in the United States. The continuing survey (it has been under way for 12 years) has so far shown that women who take the Pill do not suffer from cancer or heart attacks any more often than women who use other means of contraception.

Smoking, in contrast, is a health hazard for women, according to Rodney P. Shearman of Sydney, Australia. Professor Shearman's findings tally with those of British gynaecologists.

In Britain women smokers have been found to suffer more often from vascular complaints, such as thromboses, than non-smokers. The distinction is particularly striking among women over 35.

For every 2,000 women smokers who took the Pill, one a year fell ill on average whereas only one in 6,700 non-smokers suffered from vascular complaints.

Alternatives include the mini-Pill and the Loop, or intra-uterine device. With the mini-Pill menstrual cycles are less regular.

The older a woman is and the more children she has, the less trouble she seems to have with the Loop, so gynaecologists need not necessarily prescribe the Pill for women over 35.

Professor Clifford R. Kay of Manchester, England, told the congress that oral contraceptives should only be prescribed in exceptional cases for women over 45, as vascular complaints grew more frequent with age.

The combination of oestrogen and

Hannoversche Allgemeine

gestagen, two synthetic sex hormones, has to this day proved unparalleled for reliability.

Medical research has continually sought to imrpove on the combination, but apart from minor changes the Pill is much the same now as it was 20 years ago.

The hormone content has steadily been reduced, research having revealed that the initial higher dosage was not indispensable.

Since side-effects are less frequent and women seem to have less trouble with the Pill in every respect when the hormone count is reduced, this is just what has been done, and systematically.

Attempts have also been made to model the composition of the Pill more closely on natural hormone processes, the latest development being a three-stage Pill.

It was discussed in depth at the Berlin congress and is claimed to dose the two hormones more closely in keeping with natural processes.

The gestagen dose is increased after the first six days of the menstrual cycle, then increased again after Day 11. The oestrogen dose is likewise increased in the second stage.

By methods such as these the hormone count in individual pills has been reduced to fractions of a milligram.

Detailed comparative surveys have proved that these Pills reliably provent pregnancy without crucially affecting the metabolism.

The benefits of the three-stage Pill should, said Dr Thomas Neufeld of Vienna, be particularly useful for women who had taken oral contraceptives in a higher dosage for years.

Side-effects such as nausea and sore breasts occurred less frequently and skin impurities cleared up dramatically after the change.

Gynaecologists and paediatricians still disagree on whether young girls should be prescribed the Pill. Young people today start having intercourse earlier than their elders.

Yet most use no contraception whatever the first time, and most teenagers continue to use none; only about one in three then opts for some method or other of family planning.

Pregnancy and abortion are a much more serious health hazard for young girls than the side-effect of taking the Pill, so why are young people so reluctant to use it?

One explanation, said Professor Viola Frick-Bruder of Hamburg, was that sexual education was inadequate due to emotional hang-ups on the part of parents and teachers.

Young people, she felt, must urgently be helped to develop a responsible attitude towards contraception, and the safest and most acceptable contraceptive for young people was still the Pill.

But might not the entire development of subsequent sexual behaviour be detrimentally influenced by advising girls to take the Pill at too young an age?

The menstrual cycle is by no means regular from the start, so a group in Lausanne, Switzerland, led by Professor Irmi Rey-Stocker has systematically looked into an important aspect of the problem.

Probe into effects on later fertility

Do hormones in the Pill affect endocrinal progress towards maturity among young women and does it have any affect on later fertility?

Sixty-three girls took part in the Lausanne project. In the first five years after the first menstruation they had taken the Pill for at least 12 months.

Once they stopped taking it, said Professor Elisabeth Möhr-Baumann of Zurich, their hormone counts showed that in many cases the normal menstrual cycle was immediately resumed.

The suppressed control functions of the central nervous system sprang straight back into action.

The findings indicate that young women's bodies are extraordinarily adaptable and make the change without difficulty. So as a rule endocrinal progress to maturity is not lastingly affected by the Pill.

Young girls, it was nonetheless felt, would do better to lay off the Pill periodically and to see a doctor regularly.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 February 1982)

Hepatitus risks in the surgery

Infectious virus hepatitis has emerged as a widespread health risk among doctors, dentists and nurses, says an Essen virologist.

Professor Ernst K. Kuwert, writing in *Zahnärztliche Mitteilungen*, a dentists' magazine, says about 15 per cent of dentists who have been in practice for five years are hepatitis B carriers.

After 25 years in the profession one dentist in two has the virus.

This is a health hazard not only for the dentist but also for his patient, since hepatitis B is infectious.

So dentists who have been identified as virus hosts ought, Professor Kuwert says, to wear gloves and face masks during treatment.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 February 1982)

Tea every day keeps the dentist away

Tea-drinkers suffer less from caries than others, say two Hamburg dentists. They attribute their findings to the high fluoride count in the cup that cheers.

Two or three cups of tea a day, preferably tea from Java or Kenya, provide ample protection, say Professor H. Gülzow and Dr W. Strübig.

Tea from these regions contains so much fluoride that a day's intake of the drink should easily include the milligram required to preserve healthy teeth.

The two medics made 37 different kinds of tea in laboratory conditions and analysed them for fluoride. The counts they registered were up to 2 parts per million.

Readings varied. The lowest fluoride count was 0.56 parts per million. Professor Gülzow and Dr Strübig feel the level varies according to the origin and quality of the tea.

The tea plant is well able to store fluoride. When it is cultivated in volcanic soil, which is rich in fluoride, it probably absorbs fluoride ions via its roots.

This takes time. High concentrations are only found in grades of tea that are plucked late in the season. Darjeeling tea is not much use; it consists of young buds only.

Another point the two men make is that it depends on how fine the tea is. The finer it is, the more fluoride is released when boiling water is poured on it. This applies both to loose tea and to tea in teabags.

Tea is no substitute for brushing your teething or visiting the dentist, but it does give protection from caries.

There is very little fluoride in our daily diet, but a suitable dose makes the teeth more resistent to caries, both administered directly to the tooth enamel and absorbed by the stomach.

Does tea affect the enamel? The experts are undecided. So tea drinkers would be well-advised to carry on using a toothpaste containing fluoride too.

Children's tea is warm and wet, but that is about all it has in common with the leaf drink, says Professor Willi-Eckhart Wetzel of Giessen.

It is 95 per cent sugar, plus a few herbs and aromatic substances for taste. Sugar is bad for teeth. Plaque, the micro-organism that attacks the enamel thrives on it.

Professor Wetzel and many other dental experts suspect children's tea, which comes in a wide range of proprietary brands, of causing not only caries but also suppuration of the jaw bone.

So it may not be only the milk teeth that suffer. The growing second set that have to last a lifetime may also be ruined.

Professor Wetzel reckons about 50,000 children aged between one and four have contracted caries as a result of drinking children's tea.

The manufacturers say tooth decay can only occur in cases of misuse, but it is advisable not to give children too much during the day and to give them none at all after brushing their teeth or before going to bed.

On the children's tea tin the sugar content is listed as saccharose, and consumer reports have found one well-known brand to contain 29 per cent saccharose and another to contain up to 66 per cent.

Dieter Schwab

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 23 February 1982)

STATE SECURITY

East bloc link with terror alleged, refuted, fudged

The head of the *Bundeskriminalamt* (Federal CID) in Bonn, Gerhard Boeden, has managed to cause confusion with conflicting statements about terrorist groups in Germany.

First, he told a congress in Rome that there are links between East bloc intelligence agencies and terrorist groups of both the right and the left in the Federal Republic.

This brought a quick denial from the head office of the *Bundeskriminalamt* in Wiesbaden, which said that there was no evidence for this.

Then Herr Boeden back-tracked. He had been speaking not as a police officer but as a Christian Democrat, he said.

His allegations had been not based on officials documents but were his own views as a private citizen and based on newspaper reports.

(The meeting in Rome was on the subject of terrorism and was arranged by the World Union of Christian Democrats).

Ranking Interior Ministry officials in Bonn wondered whether a man in his position could draw a distinction between his public office and his private life.

Herr Boeden helped to set up the *Bundeskriminalamt* terrorism unit years ago and is now head of its Bonn operations, a post he has held for four years.

These operations include the state security division, which coordinates police files on the activities of East Bloc intelligence agencies in the Federal Republic and also handles reports on right-wing extremism in Germany.

It is unlikely that Herr Boeden would have arrived at a personal opinion on the issues discussed in Rome that ran counter to what he had learnt at work.

The state security division has for years dealt with possible links between East Bloc intelligence agencies and political extremist and terrorist groups in Germany.

There are countless indications that links exist, but proof is not available.

Several defectors have claimed that the KGB supported left- and right-wing terrorists in the Federal Republic as part of a strategy of destabilisation.

In the early years of the Baader-Meinhof group there were indications that members of the group had been trained at camps in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia.

But these inications have never been borne out by strong evidence. Hans J. Horchem, the former head of the Hamburg unit of the *Verfassungsschutz*, or Office for the Protection of the Constitution, recently published a survey analysing connections between the KGB and Palestinian organisations.

The KGB, he writes, lends the Palestinians massive assistance in the form of both training facilities and arms.

He feels we must work on the assumption that Palestinian organisations back terrorist groups in Western Europe either at Moscow's behest or with Soviet approval.

The Red Army Fraction has long had bases in the PLO's sphere of influence. The neo-Nazi Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann is also known to have trained members in Palestinian camps.

Several right-wing extremist leaders used to belong to communist organisations. Suspicions that East Bloc agents encourage neo-Nazi groups so that Moscow can make propaganda capital out of alleged fascist trends in the Federal Republic are nothing new.

The Christian Democrats have for years sought to get the Bonn government to publish information about communist complicity in the activities of neo-Nazi groups.

Gerhard Boeden . . . a political move.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Andreas von Schöler, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Interior Ministry, was asked on 27 April 1978 whether the government knew anything about right-wing activities being masterminded from Moscow.

"The Federal government," he said, "has information to the effect that individual right-wingers have been members of communist organisations or come from areas now under communist rule.

"But there are no specific indications that their right-wing activities are controlled by the communists."

Experts add that proof is unlikely to be found.

Herr Boeden's views, as expressed in Rome, are shared by the Christian Democrats in Bonn. He himself is CDU leader in Meckenheim, a small town near Bonn.

Bonn-watchers feel his "personal" expression of opinion in Rome was intended to get the subject back on the political agenda.

Horst Zimmermann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 February 1982)

Seeking Beirut murder connection

The *Bundeskriminalamt* has evidence that may link Udo Albrecht, 41, a right-wing extremist, with the murder of the American ambassador in Beirut five and a half years ago.

Albrecht was arrested last year on other charges, but managed to escape from an escort of eight police officers in July and get across the border into the GDR.

BKA investigations have brought to light fresh links between German right-wing extremists, Palestinian terrorist groups and the GDR secret service.

The US ambassador in Beirut, Francis E. Meloy, 59, trade attaché Robert Waring and embassy chauffeur Zohair Moghrabi were kidnapped from an armour-plated Chevrolet on 16 June 1976.

A few hours later their bodies were found. They had been shot in the head. Mystery still surrounds the circumstances, but Albrecht had admitted under BKA interrogation to having got rid of the car for Al Fatah.

Albrecht was arrested last year on suspicion of being involved in several bank raids totalling DM1.2m.

He agreed to show the police neo-Nazi arms caches and on 29 July 1981 was escorted by the police to a spot near Lauenburg, on the Elbe in Schleswig-Holstein, close to the border with the GDR.

He was escorted by eight police officers but escaped and crossed the border into the GDR.

The GDR refused to extradite Albrecht, who was born in Thuringia, which is now part of the GDR, and West German security officials feel this is one of many instances of GDR complicity in neo-Nazi activities in the Federal Republic.

The GDR is naturally keen to be able to make propaganda capital out of fascist tendencies in West Germany.

Albrecht is said to be back in Lebanon helping Palestinian groups to plan and carry out terrorist raids on Jewish institutions and US military installations in Western Europe.

Now Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, leader of the banned Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann, is in prison, Albrecht is felt to be a key figure in connection with links between German right-wing extremists and Palestinian organisations.

Albrecht has admitted to having regularly been in Lebanon since 1970 and to having come back to the Federal Republic on Palestinian missions.

The Federal public prosecutor's office launched procedings against him as a suspected member of a terrorist organisation.

The police also suspect him of having smuggled stolen cars and former Bundeswehr vehicles to the Middle East.

Under interrogation by the BKA he admitted to having fought with other Germans as a Palestinian volunteer: "I was a member of a Fatah group."

Ambassador Meloy, he said, was murdered not by Al Fatah but by a group owing allegiance to Dr Georges Habbash, the PFLP leader.

In September 1976 German newspapers carried advertisements in which a company using a Tunis Post Office box number sought to enlist Bundeswehr reservists as mercenaries in the Arab world. The adverts were placed by a Dr Gerhard Jäger; he turned out to be Albrecht.

In October 1976 he was taken into custody by the Hamburg police with a large collection of weapons.

He was sent to Rheinbach prison, near Bonn, to serve the remainder of a sentence he had jumped. He was released a year later and went underground.

In 1977 the Yugoslav police discovered him in a convoy of cars stolen in Italy and bound for Lebanon. A cache of arms was found in one car.

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 February 1982)

Extremists on slow advance

Left-wing terrorism has since 1977, a year of bloodshed, failed to develop as most experts expected.

The Red Army Fraction (RAF) had abandoned attempts to free their comrades from prison and declared the military to be their main target for attack.

The Revolutionary Cells have since emerged as the toughest adversary for security authorities engaged in combating terrorism.

RAF terrorist activities in 1977 may have been more spectacular than recent raids; they included the assassination of Siegfried Buback, the chief public prosecutor, Jürgen Ponto, board chairman of Dresdner Bank, and Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the employers' leader.

But experts say the terrorist groups cannot be said to have disintegrated. It was mere coincidence that the bid to assassinate US general Frederick J. Kroesen in Heidelberg last year failed.

The bid, attributed to the RAF, was technically prepared with care and precision.

The security authorities say the 20 or so RAF terrorists still at large lack neither cash nor arms nor good contacts in the international terrorist scene.

As for the Revolutionary Cells, they have long shown they are capable of more revolutionary acts than setting fire to ticket machines.

They claimed responsibility for the murder of Heinz-Herbert Karry, Hesse's Economic Affairs Minister.

The RAF sees itself as at war with the Federal Republic and aims to upset the country's political and social system, whereas the Revolutionary Cells are not aiming at power now. They prefer a long-term strategy.

"In this," says a leading security officer engaged in anti-terrorist work, "the Revolutionary Cells are definitely more realistic and in the long run more dangerous than the RAF."

The RAF has forfeited most of its sympathisers as a result of the Schleyer bloodbath and the hijacking of a Lufthansa jet to Mogadishu.

The Revolutionary Cells are said still to have their finger on the pulse of protest movements.

Since 1973 they have been responsible for over 100 bomb and incendiary raids. Unlike the RAF, whose members live underground, Revolutionary Cell members do not reveal their identity and operate from legality, as it were.

As a matter of principle, usually without much preparation, they attack targets associated with topical political issues.

Since each cell consists of only a handful of people and seals itself off from other cells (and there are no other organisational structures), the authorities find it very hard to track them down.

The security authorities say members of the Revolutionary Cells are active in every protest movement and campaign.

In addition to the RAF and the Revolutionary Cells the authorities also keep an eye on the Guerrilla Diffusa movement. For the past year its members have dispensed with theory and advocated the slogan: "Rebellion, not Revolution."

Their activities are aimed at government structures in general.

Michael Segbers

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 February 1982)

THE EEC

Despite its faults, EMS keeps members away from protectionist wars

The European Monetary System emerged unscathed from a political acid test when its fifth round of exchange rate realignments was agreed.

The Belgian and Luxembourg franc were devalued by eight per cent, the Danish krone by three per cent against other EMS currencies.

Economically the EMS could easily be scrapped and the individual currencies left to float again, but it rests on *two pillars, one economic, the other* political.

The EMS was launched on 13 March 1979. Its aim was to keep the currencies of EEC member-countries in joint harness and fluctuating only marginally against each other.

This can only succeed on the understanding that economic policymakers in the individual countries follow the same aims and that prices and costs keep pace with each other.

If they don't, exchange rate realignments will prove inevitable. In the Common Market they have lately kept pace less and less often.

Helmut Schmidt wanted the EMS as means of pledging members to pursue consistent stability policies. Growth without inflation was to be the paramount economic policy goal for all.

The idea worked tolerably well as long as there was still growth. There was still an effective widespread feeling that if you devalue you automatically import inflation.

But as growth receded gaps arose in the ranks of stability advocates. Millions out of work, first in one country, then in the next, rewrote by force of numbers the laws of economic priority. Unemployment became the chief problem. Devaluation was an obvious re*sort in the fight against unemployment.* It boosts export prospects, makes imports more difficult and so creates jobs at home.

Economists bluntly refer to this as a beggar my neighbour policy. Devaluation is seen as a means of exporting not *only goods but also unemployment to* neighbouring countries.

Belgium and Denmark this time applied to devalue by 12 and seven per cent respectively, which would have been a generous swig from the bottle of unemployment ambrosia.

Belgium badly needed the move. It had not devalued for 33 years but now felt imported inflation was a lesser consideration.

But Belgium is not the only EEC country in the economic doldrums. All are suffering from zero growth and high unemployment.

A fair number of politicians may have visions of devaluation as a means of gaining a breathing-space, and since a stiff dose of devaluation is needed to leave someone else holding the baby, Western Europe could unwittingly find itself in the throes of a devaluation spiral.

Successive rounds of devaluation were followed by increasingly grave bouts of inflation in the 30s, but this is conveniently forgotten.

It is rumoured in Brussels that other EMS countries will shortly be joining the devaluation queue to improve their competitive position in relation to the others.

But the EMS is a cumbersome system and that could just prevent such a race. After all, seven countries have to reach agreement on a parity realignment.

Politically, the EMS is still a peg that holds member-countries together for the purpose of mutual trade. If it were scrapped the result could quickly be a cold war of each against everyone with all the means protectionism commands.

Member-countries nonetheless continue to pursue different policies, so all that can be said with any certainty is that the next acid test for the EMS is sure to come sooner or later.

Klaus-Peter Jordan

(Nordwest Zeitung, 27 February 1982)

Continued from page 1

man who is conversant with the mentality of America's Western allies?

Herr Genscher is held in high repute in the United States. There is not the slightest doubt about his integrity.

The Americans know that on foreign and security policy issues in particular they can rely fully on the Bonn Foreign Minister.

That is why he is just the man to lend Mr. Haig support in implementing a more flexible foreign and security policy approach.

He conferred in Washington at a highly sensitive juncture in relations between the United States and Western Europe.

There could be no denying that martial law in Poland and the West's response to it have clearly brought to light a weak spot in the North Atlantic pact.

Rifts have grown apparent that must on no account be allowed to widen. Herr Genscher was able to eliminate misunderstanding in Washington and to canvass understanding, a commodity that is currently in short supply in Nato.

It would be an irony of history if the course of events in Poland were to rebound on Nato. Ensuring that it does not was one of the tasks Herr Genscher faced in Washington.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 6 March 1982)

Greenland goes out, but still needs outside help

The European Community will be halved in size by the departure of Greenland after a referendum in which 52 per cent voted against the EEC.

Greenland may only be an island of snow and ice but, north of the Arctic circle, it is a region of major economic and strategic importance.

With its military bases, fish and uranium, Greenland has been self-governing since May 1979, so the decision was taken by 50,000 Eskimos, mostly part-Danish.

Greenland joined the Common Market in 1973 as a Danish territory and against its will.

The outcome of the referendum comes as no surprise. The Eskimos were expecting to be plundered by the Europeans, including the West Germans.

They have lived for centuries on fish, and fishing rights are a matter of live and death for the people of Greenland.

They have been blandly ignored by EEC countries that have sent in fishing fleets and entirely disregarded both rights and catch quotas.

Besides, the Eskimos fear that bureaucracy and industry will jeopardise their way of life, if not their ethnic survival. Attempts to consumerise them have led to resistance.

So the referendum is also a "no" to everything we self-assuredly call modern culture and technological civilisation.

Yet the decision is not to be taken lightly, not even when nearly half the Eskimos voted in favour of continued EEC membership.

They have so far been unable to survive without outside help. Since 1973 over 1bn kroner in EEC funds has been invested in what is a developing country.

The Siumat Party, which holds power and is against the EEC, hopes to raise funds by free trade agreement and leasing military bases to the Russians and the Americans.

The Greenlanders are well aware of the country's strategic importance. They have not chosen to resign from Nato too; they cannot do so, since they only have home rule and their defence and foreign affairs are still handled by Denmark.

But they will continue to play the strategic card for all it is worth.

In the long run, of course, they cannot hope to seal themselves off from the outside world. Even if they were to succeed in developing their country on their own they could still not resign *from the 20th century.*

Provided they succeed by 1984 in surmounting the Common Market's bureaucratic and administrative hurdles they will sooner or later have to consider rejoining.

That is to say, they will have to do so *if only the Europeans show the common* sense they have lacked so far and accept Greenland as a weak but equal partner.

Karl Ackermann

(Mannheimer Morgen, 25 February 1982)



Council steps in to draw up Moscow sanctions

The EEC Council of Ministers is soon to decide on economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. No-one yet knows how many categories of goods will be affected and by what percentage imports from the USSR are to be cut.

But Bonn favours a middle-of-the-road approach. A leading Bonn diplomat has said the Federal government would favour neither token cuts nor *drastic sanctions.*

The Common Market's decision will be of some importance in the context of strained relations between the United States and Western Europe.

EEC Foreign Ministers reached their decision of principle with a sideward glance at Washington.

As Bonn government spokesman Kurt Becker put it, the aim was to complement by measures of the Common Market's own the US measures against the Soviet Union in connection with Poland and to sound a signal in Moscow's direction.

The EEC Commission has drawn up a list of about 90 categories of goods to which import restrictions might apply, but Bonn and other Common Market governments felt it was too comprehensive.

Some members of the European Community seemed keen to make use of the opportunity of keeping as many undesirable imports as possible at bay.

The ambassadors of the 10 EEC countries at the Common Market headquarters in Brussels failed twice to reach agreement so the issue is *now* to go to the Council of Ministers.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and other members of his government were initially reluctant to agree to import restrictions but realised that some such move was inevitable in view of critical sentiment in Washington.

The Bonn Cabinet has instructed Foreign Minister Genscher to pursue a middle-of-the-road approach and evidently left him some leeway, so that noone can yet say whether the import cuts will be by 50, 40 or 30 per cent.

Fewer than 90 categories are likely to be adopted, but they will be more than luxury goods such as caviar, vodka, crabs, diamonds and furs.

They seem sure to include textiles, chemicals and non-ferrous metals.

Their extent will have a bearing on the talks between US under-secretary James L. Buckley and the EEC countries on the pipelines-for-natural-gas deal with the Soviet Union and credit restrictions on Moscow.

President Reagan intends to decide after these talks whether to undertake further measures to delay the pipelines-*for-natural-gas contract.*

But Herr Genscher first conferred in Washington with President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig, Defence Secretary Weinberger and Congressmen on these tricky issues.

He was at least able to point out that *Bonn does not subsidise export credits* to the Soviet Union.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 5 March 1982)

Germany's economic position cannot be compared with the 1930s, says the president of the Bundesbank, Karl Otto Pöhl.

But he warned than unless lasting changes were made soon, there would be "critical developments" ahead.

Herr Pöhl was making a wide-ranging speech on prospects for the German economy to the 437th Schaffermahlzeit, or annual gathering of Bremen shipowners.

He pointed out that increased exports and a decline in oil imports had helped improve the economic outlook.

Confidence in the mark was so strong that Germany, unlike other deficit countries, could borrow abroad to help offset current account deficits.

Other points:

- He prefers "not to abandon hope" that America will not take steps to reduce interest rates.
- The longer the world economy continues to stagnate, the greater the temptation look to protectionism.
- To believe that profits can be improved and domestic expansion boosted by deliberate devaluation is to fail to understand the monetary lesson of the past decade.
- The estimated cost of dole money this year, DM18bn, is "economic waste on the grand scale."
- Only industrial efficiency can pay for high real wages, a high standard of social security, environmental protection, health services and overseas aid.
- A return to pre-industrial idyll is no solution ... only a handful can ever drop out ... dropouts are a luxury only a prosperous society can afford.
- He is less afraid of technological advance and greater productivity than of the reverse, an increase of the less productive sectors.

Below is a slightly abridged version of his speech.

THE ECONOMY

Bundesbank chief looks into the crystal ball

Instead of the courage to face the future that we were encouraged to take in the government's policy statement *(a reference to an appeal last year by Chancellor Schmidt)* most people seem to be afraid of the future.

Resignation and pessimism are more widespread than at almost any time since the war. No less than 68 per cent faced the New Year with foreboding; only 32 per cent looked forward to 1982 with confidence.

This is the most pessimistic outlook the Allensbach pollsters have ever registered, except in 1974, in the wake of the first oil shock.

It looks as though belief in continual economic growth and the controllability of economic processes has been seriously shaken in recent years.

The growing pace of inflation in the 70s, the collapse of the international monetary system to which the Western world owed its unprecedented post-war economic recovery and the twofold explosion of oil prices in a decade were stepping stones along the road to a crisis of the economic system.

One outcome of this crisis has been growing unemployment in nearly all Western industrialised countries, but I *for one do not feel the current position and likely developments can bear comparison with the 30s, a comparison that is occasionally made.*

This comparison certainly does not hold good for the Federal Republic of Germany, but ongoing economic stagnation is sure to lead to critical developments unless we succeed soon in bringing about lasting change.

Despite much more comprehensive social security provisions than in the 30s, growing mass unemployment without hopes of an imminent change for the better has not only economic and social repercussions but also a political dimension.

Social consensus, to which we owe a great deal, both economically and politically, is in jeopardy when there is nothing more to share out in real terms and politicians prove unable to cope with unemployment despite always having said they could.

No further mention need be made of the economic absurdity of high unemployment. This year unemployment benefits will cost an estimated DM18bn, which is clearly an economic waste on the grand scale.

This is to disregard the human cost of unemployment, which cannot be worked out in marks and pfennigs.

German industry has grown less competitive partly because of the enormous revaluation of the deutschemark after currencies were floated in 1973.

Another factor in this context, arguably even more telling, was the 1977/78 dollar crisis.

In Germany the dollar crisis led to a lower inflation rate (2.7 per cent in 1978), but stable prices were not taken sufficiently into account in the annual round of wage negotiations.

So despite what were, nominally, lower wage increases than elsewhere, German wages in real terms, including incidental labour costs, were substantially higher in dollars than in the United States, let alone Japan or other competitors for export markets.

Given low inflation, low interest rates and growing international pressure to reflate the economy, the state likewise felt under no compulsion to reduce budget deficits that had recurred since the 1975 recession.

The second round of oil price increases heightened the problems. The sudden switch from surplus to deficit in the current account highlighted the fact that we had been living beyond our means.

I feel we are on the way to remedying this state of affairs, albeit at a cost. The substantial increase in exports, especially to the Opec countries, and the decline in oil imports are both contributory *factors.*

This improvement in the current account position is the best possible prerequisite of economic recovery, better profits, higher investment and more jobs. It is to be hoped that we have learnt from the mistakes made in years gone by, learnt that no country can with impunity live beyond its means for any length of time, certainly not the Federal Republic.

In other words, we must earn what we want to spend, be it DM40bn a year on foreign travel or a DM75bn-a-year oil bill.

Last year the Federal Republic of Germany imported DM130bn worth of raw materials and semi-finished products, DM48bn worth of farm produce, and DM186bn worth of industrial goods.

There was also a DM20bn deficit in the services balance and DM20bn or so in capital exported.



'It is to be hoped that we have learnt from mistakes, that no country can live beyond its means' ... Karl Otto Pöhl. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Since Germany has neither North Sea oil nor other commodity reserves worth mentioning, all this can, for the most part, be paid for only by exporting industrial goods.

Germany is indeed the leading industrial exporter in the world. It exports more even than either the United States or Japan.

That is why it is so vitally important for the Federal Republic to stay efficient and competitive, and not only the major companies but also the medium-sized and small firms that are the backbone of the economy.

Unless industry remains efficient and competitive we will be able to afford neither high real wage levels nor a high standard of social security, neither the substantial but essential cost of environmental protection and health precautions nor aid to developing countries.

Nor will we be able, I am bound to say, to afford heavy and doubtless increasing expenditure on external security, expenditure that, in my view at least, is sadly unavoidable.

Only in an efficient and dynamically growing economy can the problem of unemployment be solved.

The labour supply can, of course, be influenced by individual, more flexible working arrangements, from job-sharing to a shorter working life.

But it must be realised that such changes will cost money and it must be clear who will pay.

I do not have the impression that the overwhelming majority of people in this country feel that an economy that is marking time and real incomes that are on the decline are desirable.

But economic growth is a sine qua non of maintaining real earnings, let alone any further increase.

In my view economy and ecology need not necessarily clash. I believe that greater care of the environment, saving raw materials and developing fresh resources have a virtually inexhaustible growth potential.

It must, of course, be realised that clean air, pure water, enough energy and health cost money and that only an economy with high productivity resulting from the use of technological progress can afford to pay the price.

A return to a pre-industrial idyll is no solution. Only a handful can ever afford to drop out, and only as long as the rest carry on with the dirty work.

Dropouts, no matter how modestly they may live and how idealistic their motives may be in individual instances, are a luxury only a prosperous society can afford.

No-one wants to forgo the affluent society's infrastructure, from hospitals to electric power, but economic performance is essential if the cost is to be met.

An efficient economy calls for investment, which means the application of technical progress and increased productivity.

Those who hold up what Joseph Schumpeter called the process of creative destruction, or economic dynamism, will not salvage jobs; in the long run they will destroy them.

I am less afraid of too much progress in productivity as a result of technological development than I am of the exact opposite, the increasing proliferation of the less or even unproductive sectors of the economy.

This is not a naive belief in progress but the result of experience that countries with the highest productivity are the ones with the lowest unemployment. Conversely, economies with low productivity have the highest unemployment.

In the current economic system there can be no investment without profits

> ❛Germany is the leading industrial exporter in the world . . . it must remain competitive❜

and profits are only made when turnover is higher than cost.

The prime cost factor is wages. For the past two years the trade unions have more or less succeeded in maintaining the real earnings of those who have retained their jobs.

The public sector has not reduced its share of the domestic product either.

But since the real earnings of the country as a whole were bound to fall as a result of exchange-rate deterioration and the high oil bill, someone had to pay the price.

It was, for the most part, industry. Company profits declined sharply in 1980 and 1981, yet neither high investment nor more jobs can be expected unless there is some change in this state of affairs.

It is not animosity toward the trade unions or the working man or an attempt to interfere with the freedom of unions and employers to negotiate wage agreements to make this point.

The extent to which there is a demand for labour depends in part on how much it costs. This means that the wage increases negotiated have a bearing on the number of people in employment.

To believe that profits can be improved and a greater leeway for domestic economic expansion gained by deliberately accepting deutschemark devaluation is to fail to understand the monetary lesson of the past decade.

This is not to say that the exchange rate should be taken as the yardstick of all and sundry. A certain amount of fluctuation, especially in relation to the dollar, is inevitable and at times benefi-

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TRADE UNIONS

Germans head EEC bid to get multis to reveal more

Multi-national companies in the EEC will have to divulge much more information if draft proposals now being considered come into force.

Basis of the proposals is a draft submitted in 1980 to the EEC Commission by Henk Vredeling, of the Netherlands, who was then Commissioner for Social Affairs.

His plan triggered full-scale resistance by the employers, who brought pressure to bear at all levels of the EEC.

Under the proposals, multi-nationals would brief staff on policy every half year. Staff would be told about their company's economic position, its production and sales prospects.

Employees would be made aware of investment and rationalisation projects, new manufacturing processes and, in fact, anything that might substantially affect their interests.

It is proposed that staff be given plenty of warning to put their views before works are closed down or transferred, before "fundamental changes" are made in company organisation or cooperation arrangements with other companies are sealed.

The European Assembly will vote in full session on the issue in May or June. If it says yes, the EEC Commissioner for Social Affairs, Britain's Ivor Richard, will draft a new guideline to be submitted to the Council of Ministers.

Then the lobbying by trade union and employer interest groups in all EEC member countries would begin.

The whole process, if it goes right through, will take some years.

It would be worth it in the eyes of Heinz Oskar Vetter, general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Trades Union Confederation.

He is closely involved with the Vredeling draft and, with his associates, sees it as one possible way of eventually arriving at all-European works councils for multi-national corporations.

Herr Vetter compiled a report on the draft for the Europarliament's legal affairs committee, but it was mauled by Conservative-backed amendments along lines favoured by the employers.

However, the draft was given a better reception in the economic and social affairs committee, a kind of minor parliament representing all social groups. It gave approval by 80 to 60 votes with 11 abstentions.

Much of the credit for this belongs to a DGB colleague of Herr Vetter, Herr Gerd Muhr, who has also compiled a report on the proposals.

His first step was to dispel doubts by non-German trade unionists, the British, Danes, French and Italians.

Then, in the full session of the committee, he enlisted the support of agricultural representatives and small traders.

It is now hoped at the headquarters of the European Trades Union Confederation that the approval given by the economic and social affairs committee will influence don't-knows on several sides of the House when the European Assembly votes.

After Richard drafts a new guideline for the Council of Ministers, unions and employers in all 10 Common Market countries will lobby their respective governments.

Staff rights in individual companies are, as a rule, better guaranteed by the Works Councils Act in Germany than in other EEC countries, but the Vredeling draft includes new ideas even for Germany.

The employers' complaint is that the draft is in breach of the principle of not going further in Community arrangements than the regulations in force in the most progressive EEC country on the issue in question.

In order not to discriminate against the multis the draft provides for the new information and hearing rights to apply to all transnational companies with subsidiaries in individual EEC countries that employ a payroll of at least 100.

So only one subsidiary needs to have a payroll of over 100. This means, the employers argue, that the new provisions will affect companies smaller than the 1,000-staff level above which more extensive shopfloor rights apply in Germany.

The employers have marshalled all manner of arguments against the provisions.

Some of their arguments were disproved in the Economic and Social Affairs Committee by Hermann Fredersdorf, general secretary of the German Inland Revenue Staff Association.

Information, he said, was important as a means of motivating staff, and it was hard to believe that leading US multis, richly endowed in capital and know-how, would pull out of the EEC on account of this information requirement.

Many of them had for years chosen to abide by the provisions of the German Works Councils Act, which in some instances went much further.

European Commission officials who are close to the trade unions now admit that the Vredeling draft is poorly worded in places and that the Commission will have to rewrite much of it before it submits a final draft to the Council of Ministers on the basis of the reports by the Economic and Social Affairs Committee and the European Assembly.

Trade unionists are well aware of the risk of an astute corporate management blinding works councils with science, plying them with so much unnecessary information about details of other company units that they cannot see the wood for trees.

The trade union draft, if it ever becomes law, will be a stupendous trial of strength for EEC unions. National unions are already hard-pressed when one works unit is shut down to ensure that company jobs elsewhere are not lost.

There have lately been instances of this all over Germany, and at times staff solidarity has persuaded the management to rethink.

But nowhere, not even in the European Community's silver jubilee year, have employees yet learnt to think and feel in European terms.

Herr Vetter, Herr Muhr and a number of trade unionists from other EEC countries hopes this will change in time as staff rights are harmonised throughout the Community.

Existing EEC guidelines to protect staff in the event of mass redundancies and mergers have yet to succeed in fostering solidarity on a Common Market scale.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 February 1982)

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cial in a system of floating exchange rates and free flow of capital.

But we must aim at being more competitive by means of greater cost discipline at home, because there are two sides to exchange rate changes.

They improve export prospects but at the same time increase the cost of imports. Higher prices for imported goods almost immediately hit consumer prices because of the high proportion of finished goods imported.

This leads in turn to calls for higher wages, which soon offset the advantage gained by devaluation for the export trade.

There is, moreover, another reason why the exchange rate is something we in general, and certainly the Bundesbank, cannot afford to be indifferent about.

The deutschemark today is the second major reserve currency, with only the dollar still more important. Foreign central banks and other institutions hold roughly DM100bn in foreign exchange reserves.

This is a token of the confidence felt in the Federal Republic of Germany's economic and monetary policy abroad.

This confidence alone has been why we, unlike nearly all the other deficit countries, have been partly able to offset our current account deficits by borrowing abroad.

We have even been able to borrow in our own currency, although interest rates on deutschemark bonds have been and continue to be much lower than the rates available for dollar bonds.

Yet even lower interest rates must still be earned. Interest rates in Germany are much lower than in other industrialised countries, apart from Japan. The gap between deutschemark and dollar interest rates is nearly six per cent again.

We will only be able to maintain or even increase this gap by continuing to pursue policies designed to ensure confidence in the deutschemark.

The Bundesbank will continue to do all it can, but it alone cannot perform the task. Confidence in a country's currency is a matter of not only monetary policy but also of the sum total of home and foreign affairs.

Despite current account improvements this sum total is by no means favourable to the deutschemark at present, as can readily be seen from the current exchange rate performance of the mark, especially against the dollar.

Domestic political disputes have played their part, as has uncertainty about the further course of events in Poland.

In particular, however, the latest news from the United States has exercised a detrimental effect on the deutschemark's exchange rate and again reduced the leeway for further interest rate cuts.

There are evidently fears in financial markets that the enormous increase in US defence spending, accompanied by substantial tax cuts and a budget deficit that has reached alarming proportions, will lead either to continued high interest rates or to a renewed increase in inflation in the United States.

These are particularly disappointing prospects because it looked not long ago as though the US Federal Reserve system was at long last in the process of getting to grips with inflation.

This would have held forth the prospect of further interest rate reductions not only in the United States but also in Germany: reductions badly needed to revive the economy.

I prefer not to abandon hope, since I cannot believe that people in the United States either fail to see the connection or choose to ignore it.

Also, I cannot believe that people in the United States fail to understand that they have a responsibility not only toward the US economy but also toward the world economy.

The longer the world economy continues to stagnate, the greater will be the temptation to seek recourse to open or covert protectionist practices.

Despite their economic difficulties and growing unemployment most countries have so far resisted this temptation. This, at least, is the impression one gains on reviewing openly restrictive practices.

But few would be prepared to wager that the temptation has been resisted when it comes to the subtler and more covert forms of protectionism.

There are certainly increasing calls for government protection from foreign competition. In neighbouring France the "reconquest" of the domestic market has been declared official policy.

Admittedly, the French expressly deny that administrative and other restrictions on international trade are being used as means to this end.

It is neither exclusively or mainly a matter of the Japanese challenge faced by the United States, the European Community and others.

We now face a fresh threat from the developing countries on the threshold of industrialisation. It is a challenge that must be faced.

It is, however, also a matter of developments in our midst: in the Common Market, in Europe, in ties with the United States.

And it must all be faced as a challenge to everything that, alongside hard work, has contributed so crucially to our greater prosperity over the past few decades: the transnational division of labour in keeping with the laws of international trade and competition.

We need to uphold the spirit of free trade and an open window on the world on which this country has always been keen. We need to uphold it if we are to cope with the problems we face at home and in the world at large.

This spirit, to which the Federal Republic in particular owes so much, is sadly missing at times in the current economic policy debate.

Economic growth, investment and full employment are something some people can evidently only envisage as a consequence of government activity, as a result of packages, programmes and the like.

They no longer see them as the result of economic performance, competition and private initiative, of what Herbert Giersch has termed (aptly, if in a somewhat old-fashioned manner) hard work and thrift.

These are simple virtues but in the final analysis we owe our prosperity to them.

Karl Otto Pöhl

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 February 1982)